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## THE WALPI FLUTE OBSERVANCE :

### A STUDY OF PRIMITIVE DRAMATIZATION.

DRAMATIZATION is one of the most important factors in the rituals of all peoples, and its varied presentation among men of primitive as well as advanced culture affords an interesting field for ethnological research. It rarely happens that a better instance of this fundamental principle of ceremoniology presents itself than in the biennial observance among the Tusayan Indians called the *Lé-len-ti* or Flute celebration, which is the subject of the present article.<sup>1</sup>

It is demonstrable that in a complicated ceremoniology there is much mythological lore intimately connected with the ritual. This lore is known to the thinking or devout members of the priesthoods, and is referred to by them as explanatory of ceremonials. The ritual is not to them a series of meaningless acts performed haphazard and without unity, varying in successive performances, but is fixed by immutable, prescribed laws which allow only limited variations. Modifications are due to the death of celebrants, or other circumstances equally beyond the control of the priests ; and as the ritual of peoples changes very slowly, that of the Tusayan Indians is one of the least modified of their customs.

Throughout the Flute ceremony there is the same rigid adherence to prescribed usages which exists in other rites, and there is the same precision year after year in the sequence of the various episodes.

My knowledge of the Flute legend is not sufficiently complete for

<sup>1</sup> The following observations were made by the late Mr. A. M. Stephen and myself while connected with the Hemenway Expedition. It was my original intention to publish them in joint authorship with him. His death before this article was written made this impossible, but I have tried to so incorporate his observations with my own as to give a fair presentation of the complicated details of this ceremony.

publication, but I have obtained enough to show that the Flute ritual is an imperfect dramatization of the Flute myth. The elements of historical dramatization are clearly distinguishable, while representations of mythological legends are no less well marked than in the Snake Ceremonials. The character of the Flute observance shows in a marked manner the influence of the Snake as well as the Flute rituals, but I am not able to detect as clearly the reciprocal influence of the Flute ritual on the Snake Ceremonials as at present performed.

The Flute fraternity,<sup>1</sup> or the society which celebrates the Flute observance, is a small organization, the chief members of which are mentioned in the following list, where the sacerdotal standing of some of the more prominent is briefly referred to.<sup>2</sup>

#### PERSONNEL OF THE FLUTE FRATERNITY.

##### CÍ-MO . . . FLUTE CHIEF.

This man was the Flute *Moñ'-wi* (chief), and the badge of this office was in his keeping until his death. As he was chief, there devolved upon him the making of the cloud-charm-altar, and the attendant invocation to the gods of the six cardinal points. He likewise erected the altar on the fourth day, and led the procession which on the following day carried the tiles and standard from the ceremonial chamber to its roof. On the eighth day he was the leader of the Flute priests in the historical dramatization, and was the most prominent man at the *kí-si*<sup>3</sup> on the morning of the ninth day. He led the ceremonials in all instances. At his death the chieftaincy passed to Tü-f-no-a, whose badge of office was erected in the winter assembly of 1894 for the first time.

<sup>1</sup> For sacerdotal fraternities in Tusayan, see *Jour. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The four chiefs whose official badges (*tt-po-ni*) were placed on the altar were Cí-mo, Hoñ'-yi, Wi-nú-ta, and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa. On Cí-mo's death Tü-f-no-a succeeded to his place, and his badge replaced that of his uncle.

There is some discrepancy in the nomenclature of the official badges of priest-hoods in the winter and summer Flute ceremonials. Tü-f-no-a's *tt-po-ni* in the winter ceremony was called the *leñ-tt-po-ni* (Flute *tt-po-ni*), and does not appear to be regarded as a fraternity palladium (*leñ-wymf-kia tt-po-ni*). It is the Flute people's and the Horn people's *tt-po-ni*.

With a somewhat similar obscurity Hoñ'-yi's badge was called, in the winter ceremony, the Speaker Chief's *tt-po-ni*, while at the summer observance it was known as the Snake people's *tt-po-ni*.

Wi-nú-ta's badge, which is in reality that of Ma-ca-kwap'-ti-wa the Bear Chief, is that of the Bear people; and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa's, which is publicly displayed in summer, is the palladium of the Water-House people.

<sup>3</sup> A cottonwood bower erected in the plaza. See *Jour. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. iv.

HOÑ'-YI . . . ANTELOPE-SNAKE CHIEF.

Hoñ'-yi is the hereditary Antelope-Snake Chief,<sup>1</sup> nephew of Wí-ki, at whose death he will be the chief of this ceremony. From a sacerdotal point of view, in the Flute rites he stands next to Cí-mo.<sup>2</sup>

WI-NÚ-TA . . . BEAR CHIEF.

Wi-nú-ta, the holder of the *tí-po-ni* of the Bear family, was present at all altar ceremonials. He was regarded as one of the chiefs, and always prayed after Hoñ'-yi. His importance may be seen from the fact that he unwrapped Hoñ'-yi's *tí-po-ni*, and challenged the Flute chief in the historical dramatization on the morning of the eighth day. To him were also committed the offerings which he placed in the *kí-si* at the culmination of the ceremonies on the ninth day.<sup>3</sup>

Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa . . .	Water-House Chief.	Boy . . . . .	Snake Boy. <sup>4</sup>
A-mí-to-la . . . .	A-ló-sa-ka.	Cá-li-ko . . . .	Snake Woman.
Tcu-a-vé-ma . . . .	Horn Chief.	Ta-las-ven-si . .	Flute Woman.
Mó-mi . . . . .	Personator of a warrior or of <i>Pü-ü-koñ-ho-ya</i> , the Little War-God.	Sú-pe-la . . . .	These persons took inconspicuous parts in this ceremonial.
		Kó-pe-li . . . .	
		Kwá-tca-kwa . .	
		Several priests and boys . .	
Si-ky-a-bó-ti-ma . .	Courier(Sand Chief).	Novices . . . .	
Les'-ma . . . . .	Flute player.		
Two girls . . . . .	Snake Maidens. <sup>4</sup>		

The two great ceremonials of the Flute society in each year may be known from the seasons when they occur,<sup>5</sup> the winter and the summer celebrations. Both occur in what is called the *Pa*<sup>6</sup> moon.

It was said that the object of the winter ceremony was to announce to those believed to be engaged in simultaneous rites in the

<sup>1</sup> This is the reason why he prays after, and receives the ceremonial pipe directly from, the Flute chief. He is next in rank to him in this observance. He stood with Wi-nú-ta at the entrance to the pueblo at the historic dramatization, as the representative of the Antelope-Snake Society.

<sup>2</sup> Hoñ'-yi is likewise called the Speaker-Chief, because he announced the coming celebration of the Snake Ceremonials. (See *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. iv.)

<sup>3</sup> His precedence is readily explained when we remember that the Bear family is reputed to be the oldest in Walpi. He did not lead the prayers because the Flute chief was chief in this ceremony, and his position in this regard was much the same as that of Kó-pe-li to Wí-ki in the Antelope-Snake rites. Both are representatives of warrior peoples or societies.

<sup>4</sup> The apparel of the Snake boy and girls is described at length in *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The reason that Tü-í-no-a was chief in the winter celebration was that his predecessor, Cí-mo, died shortly after the summer celebration of two years before.

<sup>6</sup> January.

underworld that the priests in the upper world were occupied with their devotions.

#### WINTER CEREMONY.

The Flute Society, like the Antelope-Snake, has a winter meeting in the same year in which the summer observance takes place. In 1894 this began on January 21st.

Without formality, about twenty men assembled in the Moñ'kiva and made prayer-sticks (*pá-ho*) from about ten in the morning until the middle of the afternoon. Each man manufactured several of these emblems, similar to that of the Antelopes figured in my memoir on the Snake Dance.<sup>1</sup> They were, however, painted at the tips with black shale, and red iron oxide was not used in staining the feathers. After each man had made these prayer-sticks he placed them in a flat basket which he held in his hand, and silently prayed and smoked over them. After all had finished making *pá-ho*,<sup>2</sup> they placed them in basket trays on the plank of the *sí-pa-pu*,<sup>3</sup> which was closed.

Tü-í-no-a and Hoñ'-yi, the Flute and the Antelope-Snake chiefs, each made three *pá-ho*<sup>4</sup> and four flat prayer objects. Wi-nú-ta and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa also made four of the former.

At about three in the afternoon, Si-ky-a-bó-ti-ma brought to the room a peck of sand, which he poured on the floor, near the chief of the Flute Society, between the plank of the *sí-pa-pu* and the southwest wall of the room. The *tí-po-ni* of the three chiefs, which up to this time hung from pegs on the kiva walls, were then set in place. Tü-í-no-a, having made a flat bed of the sand, unwrapped his *tí-po-ni*, took a handful of sacred meal, and squatting back of the sand, facing southeast, made the six lines<sup>5</sup> radiating from a common point. At their junction he put a handful of meal, and in it firmly imbedded his *tí-po-ni*. He then took another handful of meal, prayed silently

<sup>1</sup> *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Each chief said his prayer to the *pá-ho* before he placed them on the altar for consecration by the society.

As I have elsewhere pointed out, all refuse, as whittlings and fragments of feathers used in the manufacture of these sacred objects, were carefully gathered and deposited with a pinch of meal and prayer in some appropriate place. These fragments have become in a way sacred, and are treated as such, but no special piscina for them seems to exist, either in the kiva or outside.

<sup>3</sup> Opening in the floor, symbolic of the orifice through which the race emerged from the underworld.

<sup>4</sup> The Flute *pá-ho* is similar to the Snake-Antelope, except that red pigment is not used in staining the string, since the Flute is not a warrior society.

<sup>5</sup> These lines of meal, called *ná-na-ni-vo*, or six direction lines, correspond to the six world-quarters. A picture of a similar altar is given in *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1.

upon it, and then cast a little upon his *tí-po-ni*. He afterwards sprinkled a line of meal across the floor, making what is called a meal road (*hom-ñum-pü-hü*). He inserted one end of a string under his *tí-po-ni* and stretched it along the line of meal. He then cast meal along the string and out of the hatch. Hoñ'-yi followed the example of the Flute chief, and made six radiating lines in meal by the side of those of his predecessor, and placed his *tí-po-ni* in position upon their junction. He prayed and cast meal upon both *tí-po-ni* and along the line which the chief had made on the floor.<sup>1</sup>

Wi-nú-ta followed the example of Hoñ'-yi, and, as the others before him had done, took his place behind his *tí-po-ni*.

The other objects used in the ceremony were then placed in position, and the Flute chief carefully laid at his feet a curious rattle called the *pá-a-ya* (moisture rattle). Há-ni then filled a pipe with tobacco and passed it to Tü-i-no-a, who, after smoking, handed it to Hoñ'-yi, by whom it was given to Wi-nú-ta, and so on to other priests in sequence.<sup>2</sup> After all had smoked, Tü-i-no-a, Hoñ'-yi, Wi-nú-ta, and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa prayed in sequence. The last mentioned then took a buzzard's wing-feather in his left hand, and a pinch of prayer-meal in his right, and stood erect. All sang a solemn tune, and at certain passages Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa sprinkled a little meal along the concave side of the feather, and waved it horizontally in a sinistral circuit around and above the society badges (*tí-po-ni*), the basket in which the *pá-ho* were, and last of all in widening circles over the heads of all present. After describing the fourth round, he tossed the meal from the feather towards the ladder by which one enters the kiva. This he repeated six times during different songs, after which he resumed his seat. The rattles were then distributed, and all sang the Flute melodies,<sup>3</sup> the Flute chief accompanying them with the *pá-a-ya*. During these songs, Há-ni and others made discordant notes on flutes, and Wi-nú-ta asperged to the different world-quarters.

At the eighth song Nü-vá-ti and Mó-mi twirled the whizzers (*ñ-mük'-pi*);<sup>4</sup> the former remaining in the kiva, the latter mounting to the roof.

<sup>1</sup> This was the prescribed way of setting a *tí-po-ni* in its place on an altar, as described in other ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> Attention is called to the sequence in prayers, ceremonial smokes, and in setting the *tí-po-ni* in position. The Flute chief always leads, for he takes precedence of all in this, the particular celebration of his society.

<sup>3</sup> Identical with those sung publicly in the summer ceremony of the Flute Society.

<sup>4</sup> This instrument seems to be used to announce the performance of certain particularly sacred parts of the ceremony in this case. It is sometimes called the "thunder *pá-ho*."

At the close of the twelfth song Há-ni laid down his flute, took a handful of sacred meal in his left<sup>1</sup> hand, and cast a pinch upon the *tí-po-ni* and *pá-ho*, and later rubbed a little on the left cheek of every one present, beginning with Wí-ki and passing in sinistral circuit to the other members present.

The rattles were then all laid down and the four chiefs prayed in order, after which the pipe was lit by Há-ni and smoked in turn, which closed the consecration of the *pá-ho*. The two couriers Kwá-a and Ma-ca-kwap'-ti-wa, who were to place the prayer-sticks in the shrines, then stepped forward, and were given these objects by the Flute chief, with instructions where to deposit them.<sup>2</sup> They were quite naked; on receiving their charges they hastened off on the run.

After their departure Tü-i-no-a, Hoñ'-yi, and Wi-nú-ta stood erect in line, each holding his *tí-po-ni* in his hands. Tü-i-no-a prayed briefly, and as he closed waved his badge in a horizontal plane before him. Hoñ'-yi and Wi-nú-ta did the same in sequence, and then all three moved their badges simultaneously. This closed the ceremony, and the *tí-po-ni* were then put back in their wrappings, and women immediately after brought the food which was to furnish the closing feast of the day.

The simplicity of this winter assembly<sup>3</sup> shows that its object is single, and there are no evidences in it of abbreviation or dramatization. It is simply a setting up of the *tí-po-ni*, a manufacture and consecration of prayer emblems and purification of the participants. There is no element in it which is not repeated with much greater elaboration in the summer presentation.

#### THE SUMMER OBSERVANCE.

The summer Flute celebration at Cipaulovi has already been partially described,<sup>4</sup> and the last day's performance of the Walpi society was briefly referred to elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> The present article gives a more extended account of the latter, and is the only one which describes the Flute ceremonials of the first seven days.

There are important differences between the Flute observances at Cipaulovi and Walpi, and in some respects the Walpi presentation is more complicated, although only a single priesthood took part in it. The altar of the Walpi priesthood was much more elaborate

<sup>1</sup> Prescribed hand for offerings; the sacred hand.

<sup>2</sup> These couriers were not anointed with honey, as is usually the case.

<sup>3</sup> A somewhat similar winter ceremony of the Antelope-Snake Society is known, but the details of its presentation have thus far escaped me.

<sup>4</sup> *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Four. Amer. Folk-Lore*, 1892.

than that of the Cipaulovi, in which the priest personating A-ló-sa-ka did not appear. There were likewise many minor differences, from which we may conclude that even among the different pueblos there is considerable modification in the performance of the same rites.

The following summary may be made of the events of the different days in 1892 :—

August 5th (first day) :

Cí-mo made the *ná-kü-yi poñ'-ya* (charm-liquid-altar), and enacted the *na-na-ni-vo tuñ-wai-ni-ta* (the invocation to the six directions). Making and consecration of the *pá-ho*, and distribution of the same by the courier. Making of the *leñ-poñ'-ya* (Flute altar). Night songs.

August 6th (second day) :

Making and consecration of *pá-ho*, and their distribution by the courier. Night songs.

August 7th (third day) :

Making and consecration of *pá-ho*, and their distribution by the courier.

August 8th (fourth day) :

Placing of the figurines, *tí-po-ni*, and altar slabs, and construction of the altar and pollen trails. Making and consecration of *pá-ho*, and their distribution by the courier.

August 9th (fifth day) :

Raising of the standard (large *ná-tci*), and placing of the rain-cloud slabs on the roof, with attendant ceremonials. Making and consecration of the *pá-ho*, and their distribution by the courier.

August 10th (sixth day) :

Wi-nú-ta untied and renewed the *tí-po-ni*, and accompanying ceremonials. Making and consecration of the *pá-ho*, and their distribution by the courier.

August 11th and 12th (seventh and eighth days) :

Visit to the springs Ka-nel'-ba, Wí-po, and Kwac'-ta-pa-hu. Ceremonies there and on the return to Walpi. Ceremonial reception of the Flutes by the Bears and Snakes at Walpi on return. Making and consecration of the *pá-ho*, and their distribution by the courier on both days.

August 13th (ninth day) :

Morning ceremonials in the plaza, near the cottonwood bower, or *kí-si*. Distribution of mud-balls. Songs at the altar. Observances at Ta-wá-pa. Ceremonial on the trail from Ta-wá-pa to the mesa. Rites observed at the *kí-si*.

August 5th (first day) :

At early sunrise Cí-mo tied a *ná-tci*<sup>1</sup> on the west pole of the ladder lead-

<sup>1</sup> The *ná-tci* had both sticks painted a dark green, ornamented with a zigzag figure in black representing the lightning. The facet which was cut upon one stick had the natural wood color. Four feathered strings, each six inches long, were attached as indicated. This *ná-tci* was fastened to the west pole of the ladder, and was put up in the morning, to be removed each evening and laid on the floor at the altar.



ing up to his house. He brought from a back room his feather box and several fetish bags, which were carried to the second story of his house. On entering this room Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa was found sitting beside a bag of valley sand, and in a few moments Wi-nú-ta came in.

Cí-mo sprinkled sand on the floor over a radius of three feet, his daughter meanwhile grinding meal, which she put in a small coiled basket tray (*pó-o-ta*) and brought to Cí-mo, and then went down the ladder. Cí-mo next made six cardinal direction lines in meal, setting the *ná-kwi-pi* at their junction. At the ends of these lines he placed ears of corn, following a sinistral circuit, setting an ear of black corn for the above and one of sweet corn for the below.<sup>1</sup> Upon the right hand of each ear of corn he placed two bird-skins.

The rites celebrated at the cloud-charm-altar, on the morning of the first day, were as follows: After seating themselves, the pipe-lighter, Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa, lit a small American pipe filled with tobacco and handed it to Cí-mo, who smoked and passed it to Hoñ'-yi, by whom it was forwarded to Wi-nú-ta and returned to Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa. As the pipe was handed from one priest to another, terms of relationship were interchanged. Cí-mo handed his associates small gourd rattles, and placed an aspergil and bird-skins near each ear of corn on the altar. He also added an instrument called a *ta-las'-ta-na*, a hollow reed wrapped with cotton strings. He next put near each ear of corn two small stones. The pair at the end of the line of meal to the west were fragments of carbonate of copper, as green is the color of the west. Next he filled a gourd with water, and, resuming his position at the altar, poured some of it into the *ná-kwi-pi* from the north side, then elevating the gourd each time, he repeated the same for the other directions.<sup>2</sup> Hoñ'-yi then came in, and all doffed their clothing and let down their hair. Wi-nú-ta then prayed, followed by Hoñ'-yi and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa. They began a low song, accompanied with rattles. Cí-mo took a pinch of meal in his right hand, and, at a proper time in the song, lifted the stone fragments on the charm altar with his right hand. He sprinkled meal in the bowl, and then in sequence dropped the bits of stone into it. Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa held the strange rattle called the *pá-a-ya*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement of the corn and medicine bowl may be called a cloud-charm-altar. It is commonly made in all great ceremonials, and is substantially identical with that which I have figured in my account of the *Ni-man Ka-tct-na* (*Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1).

<sup>2</sup> He explained this by saying that at each direction there sits a chief (god) of whom all the objects laid are symbolic in color.

<sup>3</sup> The *pá-a-ya*, or water rattle, consists of four gourd disks attached at intervals to a rod which is crooked at the end, from which small shells are suspended. Between the disks hooks are attached on an eagle-wing feather. The four disks were said to typify the four underworlds.

At the next song Cí-mo, who did not sing, dipped the tips of the skins in the *ná-kü-yi* (charm liquid) and laid them back beside the ears of corn. He likewise touched the beak and tail of each skin to the liquid, after having first sprinkled meal on it. During the next song, which was very lively, the Flute chief sprinkled meal in the charm liquid, and dipped in it the tip of the feather of each aspergil. The next song was a weird melody. He took up the *ta-las'-ta-na*, one by one, following a sinistral circuit, and inverted each over the liquid (*ná-kü-yi*). As each *ta-las'-ta-na* was inverted a small quantity of corn pollen (*ta-lá-si*) fell out, after which he dipped the bevelled tips of the *ta-las'-ta-na* in the liquid and placed it back beside the ear of corn and aspergil. At the recurrence of certain strains in the song Cí-mo sprinkled meal over all the objects on the altar, beginning at the outer circle and describing a decreasing spiral, and into the liquid.

He now laid the ears of corn horizontally across the top of the medicine bowl, which he seized with his fingers, pressing his thumbs on the ears of corn. He twisted and turned the vessel without taking it off the floor, keeping time with the song; during which action his daughter went to the mealing trough, and quite unceremoniously began grinding corn. During a lively song which followed, Cí-mo dipped the tip of the corn in the liquid, which he stirred with a rapid movement, after which he laid the corn down in its original position.

He then took up the yellow<sup>1</sup> ear of corn, and, keeping time, scraped it on the edge of the medicine bowl. Then he stirred the liquid with the corn, with which he later asperged to the ceremonial points, following the prescribed sinistral sequence.

The songs then ceased,<sup>2</sup> and Címo prayed, followed in turn by Hoñ'-yi, Wi-nú-ta, and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa. Wi-nú-ta then gathered up the rattles, and Cí-mo the bird-skins and fetishes from the altar, and laid them all one side. He had not yet disturbed the *ná-kwi-pi* when he remembered that he had omitted to imitate the bird's call with the whistle in the liquid. This he immediately did, and then asperged to the cardinal points. Wi-nú-ta was reminded that he had not reflected a ray of sunlight into the liquid with the quartz crystal. This he attempted, but without success, and Cí-mo tried, and likewise failed, after which the crystal was laid at one side.<sup>3</sup>

In the early forenoon Sú-pe-la came in, and each of the four priests

<sup>1</sup> Because yellow is symbolic of the northwest.

<sup>2</sup> How many songs they sung was not learned.

<sup>3</sup> It was said that *O-mow-ñh* (Cloud God) was between *Tá-wa* (the sun) and the celebrants. The reflection of *Tá-wa* into the "medicine," and the bird-calls, are described in the *Ni-man Ka-tci-na* (*Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1).

mentioned above made a *pá-ho*, which were finished at noon, and consecrated with songs.

At the close of the songs, prayers, and ceremonial smoke, *Cí-mo* passed a white kilt and a small bag of meal to the courier. He then rolled the four *pá-ho* separately in a white mantle with scarlet borders, tied the corners, and gave it to the courier, who set out on his long run to deposit them. Before starting, however, he dipped his forefinger in a pot of honey, and touched it to his tongue and the sole of each foot. He then spat on his hands, and rubbed the spittle on his arms and breast.<sup>1</sup> The courier passed in a sinistral circuit to the four-world quarter shrines and returned at 4 P. M. When he came in<sup>2</sup> he took off his kilt, prayed on a pinch of meal which he cast on the altar, and, untying the feather from his scalp-lock, laid it on the meal tray.

The route to the shrines which was taken by the courier with the *pá-ho* was similar to that followed in the Snake Ceremony and The New Fire (*Na'-ac-nai-ya*).

The chamber in which the Flute altar was erected is centrally placed in the pueblo, and underneath it there is a room where *Cí-mo* kept the paraphernalia. At the west end of the chamber a large quantity of ears of blue corn was arranged like corded wood.

Just in front of this pile of corn *Cí-mo* made on the floor a low, narrow ridge of sand, twenty inches long and five inches wide. The three *tí-po-ni* were brought to the chamber by *Cí-mo*, *Hoñ'-yi*, and *Wi-nú-ta*. *Cí-mo* took a handful of meal, prayed, and poured it on the above-mentioned ridge of sand, and then set his *tí-po-ni* upright in it. *Hoñ'-yi* and *Wi-nú-ta* followed his example, and then took a seat near the altar. One pipe was filled, lit with a burning corn-cob, and handed to *Hoñ'-yi*, and another was passed to *Cí-mo*. *Cí-mo* then laid one end of a long string under the base of *Hoñ'-yi's* *tí-po-ni*, stretching it towards the southeast of the room. After all had smoked, *Cí-mo* prayed, followed in sequence by *Hoñ'-yi*, *Wi-nú-ta*,

<sup>1</sup> Similar to his brother *Ká-kap-ti's* preparation in Antelope kiva.

<sup>2</sup> He ran over the whole circuit. The courier was barefooted and unclothed, in order that the cloud gods may notice him, and he ran swiftly, that they may respond quickly, or that the prayers may be immediately answered. He loosened his hair and let it hang down from his head, symbolic of the way in which the rain deities carry rain clouds. He made the far circuit on the first day, because the cloud chiefs (gods) live far away. He ran in the circuit to call the attention of all the world-quarters cloud deities. "We hope," said the informant, "that they may see him, and that on the next day they might come a little nearer." Hence on each succeeding day he travelled on a shorter circumference. "It is thus we wish the rain clouds to come nearer and nearer and pour down their contents on ourselves, our houses, and fields, and that we may see the dry river-beds full of running water and hear the pattering rain."

and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa. Then Wi-nú-ta distributed the rattles to the assembled priests, preparatory to singing the songs.

Shortly after, while the six priests were seated awaiting the songs, A-mí-to-la came up the ladder to the door of the chamber. He was invited to enter the room and have a smoke. As he came in he asked, "*Há-kun-poñ'-ya?*" (where is the altar?) He was answered, "*Kwi-ní-wi*" (north), and he went to the altar, took a pinch of meal, prayed, and cast it on the *tí-po-ni*, and then joined the circle of smokers.

About nine p. m. Cí-mo signified that it was time to begin the rites, and all went to the *tí-po-ni* altar, and seated themselves in the same positions as at noon. A-mí-to-la acted as pipe-lighter. Cá-li-ko (Snake woman) and Ta-laś-ven-si (Flute woman) entered, and both seated themselves in the circle of celebrants. All prayed as at noon, and Wi-nú-ta gave a *mo-sí-li-li* (shell rattle) to the two women, both of whom smoked with the others. The songs, eight in number, differed from those sung at noon, and both women took part. In the second song, one of the men, having anointed the "bull-roarer"<sup>1</sup> with honey, went on the housetop and twirled it about his head, making a peculiar whizzing noise. In the third song one of the priests sobbed and cried bitterly, and at the close Cí-mo, Hoñ'-yi, and Wi-nú-ta prayed and smoked, two pipes being used in the ceremony. At about midnight, when the singing ceased, each took a pinch of meal, cast it on the altar, and went to sleep.

August 6th (second day). — At sunrise Cí-mo fastened the *ná-tci* to the ladder (west pole), casting meal upon it and towards the sun.<sup>2</sup> The celebrants, with the addition of Tcu-a-vé-ma,<sup>3</sup> breakfasted together in the room where the altar had been made.

At noon the *pá-ho* which had been made during the forenoon were finished. To-day four of these were made by each person present, except the courier who deposited them. At Cí-mo's prompting they then took their seats at the altar in the following order:—

- |              |                      |
|--------------|----------------------|
| 1. Cí-mo.    | 4. Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa. |
| 2. Hoñ'-yi.  | 5. Sú-pe-la.         |
| 3. Wi-nú-ta. | 6. Tcu-a-vé-ma.      |

Tcu-a-vé-ma filled and lit two pipes, one of which he passed to Cí-mo, and the other to Wi-nú-ta. Wi-nú-ta passed his pipe to Hoñ'-yi, and Cí-mo handed his to Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa.

In the noon ceremonies the sequence of prayer was the same as

<sup>1</sup> Flat wooden slab attached to the end of a string.

<sup>2</sup> This was done every morning.

<sup>3</sup> The six priests ate in the house where the ceremonials were taking place, after *pá-ho* making. Salt was taboo.

yesterday, after which Cí-mo and the others took gourd rattles. Tcu-a-vé-ma, however, was given a shell rattle by Wi-nú-ta. They then sang the ceremonial songs, at the close of which the five priests prayed and Tcu-a-vé-ma lit the pipes and passed them as before. After the smoke, the courier was arrayed and anointed under Cí-mo's direction, and started on his somewhat reduced circuit with the *pá-ho*, following the route which Ká-kap-ti took in the Snake ceremony.

On the night of the second day the traditional songs were again sung and the ceremonies of the first night were repeated, Tcu-a-vé-ma being the only addition to the group of participants. The priests brought their food from their own houses to the ceremonial chamber where they slept.

August 5th (third day). — After eating breakfast and smoking, Cí-mo and two or three others brought wads of cotton and began carding and spinning cotton strings. Some of the men laid down to sleep, and Sú-pe-la made fringes for his moccasins, while Wi-nú-ta sewed together parts of a calico suit.

In the morning the six priests prepared prayer-sticks, which they placed in a cruciform position in a tray by the altar. The pipe-lighter filled and lit the pipes and passed them ceremonially, as on former occasions, repeating terms of relationship.<sup>1</sup>

After smoking, the priests prayed in prescribed sequence noticed in preceding descriptions of this part of the ceremonial. Then followed the songs, and one of the priests asperged to the cardinal points. (See previous noon ceremony.) The songs were followed by prayers by the chiefs.

August 8th (fourth day). — Just before sunrise, Wi-nú-ta brought the *o-wa-o-mow-áh*<sup>2</sup> (stone cloud-slabs), four in number, which were kept by him in a cache under Walpi, on the southeast face of the cliff. They were all of the same size, made of sandstone, averaging ten to eleven inches wide, eight and one half to ten inches high, and from one to one and one quarter thick. They were painted on one side with the same design.

Cí-mo made four feather objects for distribution as offerings, and the other priests prepared for future use the customary eagle-breast feathers. Cí-mo brought the figurines and four altar slabs, which in

<sup>1</sup> When the recipient of the pipe is the elder, it is customary for him to say, "*I'-ti-i*" (my son), or "*I-tup-ko*" (my younger brother); the giver responding "*I'-na-a*" (my father), or "*I-vwá-vwa*" (my elder brother). When the recipient is the younger he says, "*I-na-a*," or "*I-vwá-vwa*;" the giver responding, "*I'-ti-i*," or "*I-tup-ko*."

<sup>2</sup> My cuts of similar tiles in the Cipaulovi celebration give a good idea of these slabs and their general symbolic decorations.

the course of the morning were repainted with symbolic cloud-markings.

At about noon *Cí-mo* laid the three *tí-po-ni* horizontally on the meal-tray, which he set on a pile of sand. He then added more sand to the ridge on the floor, and poured a cup of water in the cavity where each of the *tí-po-ni* had stood. He mixed the new and old sand with the water, forming a new ridge, three feet long, ten inches wide, and six inches high. *Ta-las'-ven-si* then swept the chamber floor thoroughly. *Cí-mo* procured a *küet'-kya-bu* (white cotton mantle with white tassel at each corner), and *Hoñ'-yi* and *Mó-mi* spread it between them in the middle of the chamber, each holding a corner in each hand. *Wi-nú-ta* then sat under it, and with a wire needle passed twenty stringed feathers through the centre of the mantle, leaving the feathers dangling in an irregular group at the end of a string about a foot below the mantle. *Cí-mo* directed the two to suspend the mantle over a pole in the roof, and brought the altar-slabs and figurines and laid them down in front of the ridge of sand.

The courier (*Tu-wa-moñ-wi*) appeared with two large lumps of clay, out of which *Cí-mo*, *Wi-nú-ta*, and *Hoñ'-yi* made four pedestals, and erected the reredos of the *poñ'-ya*. *Cí-mo* made a smaller ridge of sand in front of and touching the larger ridge, and in this lesser ridge each of the priests above mentioned placed his own *tí-po-ni*. A fourth *tí-po-ni*, belonging to *Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa*, was unwrapped with great care from its covering, and, as the four *tí-po-ni* were set in place, meal was cast into the air as if to the six cardinal directions, but none was sprinkled on the *tí-po-ni*.

The erection of the *poñ'-ya* was finished at two p. m., and then *Cí-mo* took an open meshed basket and sifted valley sand half way across the chamber from the centre of the ridge of sand, making a shallow zone a little over two feet wide on the floor.

*Cí-mo* and *Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa* covered the north side of this zone with yellow pollen, and *Hoñ'-yi* and *Wi-nú-ta* sprinkled the south side with blue<sup>1</sup> pollen. The mantle was suspended from the roof just in front of the *poñ'-ya*, and before it a cross made of two sticks was hung from the roof. Down the centre, between the blue and yellow sides of the zone, at equal intervals, four short dark blue lines were drawn, and between them the wooden effigies of birds were placed.

An old medicine bowl, without handle, was set at the end of the zone next the *poñ'-ya*, and at the other end were two trays of pollen, the colors corresponding to the stripes (yellow and blue) of right

<sup>1</sup> Blue and green colors are not differentiated. The term *ca-kwa ta-las'-i* means blue or green pollen. While the color of the pollen may not have been blue, its name was the blue-green pollen.

and left sides. Just beyond them the four tiles mentioned above were laid, and beyond them was a two-horned helmet.<sup>1</sup>

At 10 P. M. the six priests stripped off their clothing, let down, their hair, and took a squatting position at the altar. Prayers were offered by them in turn, at the close of which Les'-ma filled a pipe and passed it to the chiefs. After all had smoked, songs were sung, the purport of which was for rain. During the second song Wi-nú-ta asperged to the cardinal points and A-mí-to-la set the hanging cross (*tok'-pe-la*) swinging with an eagle tail-feather. Les'-ma played a good accompaniment to the fifth and subsequent songs on a flute.<sup>2</sup> Once during the singing A-mí-to-la broke out into violent sobbing and weeping and all bewailed that the rain was delayed. "Whose heart is bad?" "Whose thoughts are bad?" "Whose words are leaving the straight path?" were frequent questions, and they sorrowfully resumed their songs.

August 9th (fifth day). — At dawn Wi-nú-ta placed something at the east end of the pollen trail and uncovered the tray of *pá-ho* which had been made yesterday. Kó-pe-li and another young man were sent to certain springs to procure water, which on returning they set in gourds on the altar.

At dawn a girl swept the floor at the east end of the zone of sand covered with pollen, between it and the front door, and Les'-ma, with his flute under his arm, took a large handful of meal from the tray, and, beginning with Cí-mo, passed around among the participants, rubbing meal on the left cheek of every one in the room. Soon after this the songs ceased and the priests again smoked and prayed in sequence.

The courier by this time had returned with about a peck of sand in his blanket. A-mí-to-la ornamented himself with two bands of whitewash upon his knees and rain-cloud symbols over his shoulders. A short ladder was set in a convenient position, and Wi-nú-ta carried a pedestal for a *ná-tci* up to the roof. Cí-mo sifted a trail of sand from the east end of the pollen zone to the foot of the ladder, and changed the position of the tiles, laying them in sequence in a row along the beginning of the trail which he had made. A novice (girl) went out carrying an ear of corn, and deposited a string with attached feather in a shrine. She later came back and returned her corn to the place on the altar it formerly occupied.

<sup>1</sup> The author is unable to give a sketch of this altar, which is highly characteristic, but has reproduced drawings of some of the paraphernalia, including the figurines and the Flute slabs. This altar is very complicated, but, from the failure of photographs upon which I relied, cannot be figured. It differed considerably from those of Cipaulovi, although in essentials it is the same.

<sup>2</sup> There was much uncertainty about the words of the song, and the singers were repeatedly prompted.

At daylight *Cí-mo* sprinkled yellow pollen upon the new trail, making a wide streak to the foot of the ladder. *Hoñ'-yi* made an additional parallel streak of blue pollen. *A-mí-to-la* arrayed himself in a white kilt and painted a streak of white under his right jaw and a curved mark under his left eye. He tied a tortoise rattle below each knee and adorned himself with many necklaces of beads, putting the *A-ló-sa-ka* headdress (helmet with two horns) on his head. He took a *moñ'-ko-lu*<sup>1</sup> in his left hand and a tray of meal in the right. He sprinkled the trail with meal, likewise making upon it symbols of the clouds.

*Cí-mo* donned his white kilt and moved the tiles in succession from one to another of the cloud symbols made by *A-mí-to-la* (*A-ló-sa-ka*). All the other priests stood in a group at the beginning of the trail, where *Cí-mo* stood holding the tray of yellow pollen, and *Hoñ'-yi* the blue. *Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa* had a meal tray; the others carried rattles. All then sang; *Les'-ma* playing the flute. As they sang, *A-ló-sa-ka* moved the staff (*ná-tci*) and tiles, advancing them one symbol (cloud) at a time, and then carried them up the ladder. The procession followed slowly in four lines of four each, close along the pollen trail, singing as they walked. After *A-ló-sa-ka* had carried all the tiles and *ná-tci* staff to their ultimate positions, the four chiefs, sprinkling meal as they advanced, went up on the roof. *A-ló-sa-ka* returned to the chamber, but the others remained singing, and only four chiefs mounted the roof. The sun rose before the ceremonial raising of the standard on the roof had ended.

After eating breakfast all slept, but before noon each priest made four *pá-ho*. When they were finished, *Cí-mo* laid them in a tray in front of the *poñ'-ya*, and later the ceremonial songs were sung and the courier carried them to the shrines.

August 10th (sixth day). *Cí-mo* tied the small *ná-tci* to the ladder at sunrise, and after breakfast the priests began making *pá-ho*, each of which had the length of the middle finger.

At about 10 A. M. *Wi-nú-ta*, having carefully bathed his head in front of the door, swept the floor and spread a large white blanket on it just east of the position occupied by the horned helmet of *A-ló-sa-ka*. Upon this blanket he placed a fine buckskin, and rubbing his body with white prayer-meal, girt himself with a kilt and sat down on the buckskin. *Hoñ'-yi* then carefully took up his *tí-po-ni* from the altar and reverentially handed it to *Wi-nú-ta*, who sat on the skin facing south. *Wi-nú-ta* took off the surrounding cord upon which hung two bits of mother of pearl, and began unwinding the cotton string which enwrapped it, removing outer feathers which

<sup>1</sup> Wooden badge, examples of which are figured in my account of *Na'-ac-nai-ya*.



as released he laid down on the tip of the neck of the buckskin. After removing from the *tí-po-ni* feathers of the eagle, and of the woodpecker (*Si-ky-a-tci*), and bluebird, with one or two others, the end of the string was reached, which he placed beside the feathers. Six pieces of string were similarly removed, and now and then a breast feather was released as the string was unwound. Hoñ'yi came and sat down by the skin and smoked.

Cí-mo meanwhile made four blue *pá-ho* with black points, each the length of the middle finger, and nine black *wú-pa-pa-ho*.<sup>1</sup> Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa, Hoñ'yi, Wi-nú-ta, and Tcu-a-vé-ma also made *pá-ho*.

Wi-nú-ta's operation of unwinding the *tí-po-ni* was very carefully done, and occupied a long time, but at last there was revealed a small symmetrical ear of corn set in a slightly conical wooden base. In the cavity of the base there was a small wad of cotton and numerous seed of different kinds of corn, beans, melons, squashes, and piñon. The cup or base was about three inches high, two and one half across the base, and two across the top. In its centre was a sharpened wooden peg projecting about four inches, on which the ear of corn was impaled. This base was made of spruce wood, and each segment was painted one of the colors corresponding to a cardinal point upon which an ear of corn was depicted. The rest of the cup and the intervals between the segments was painted white. Wi-nú-ta detached the old ear of corn, and, assisted by Cí-mo, after a careful selection among several ears he chose a new one which he impaled on the peg. He retouched with pigment the figures of corn on the cup, following the old lines. The new ear was painted white and the old one was laid on the blanket. He added a drop of honey to the cup. He then renewed all the eagle, turkey, magpie, bluebird feathers, etc., from a bundle he brought in the morning, and tied up the *tí-po-ni* in its former wrappings. The renovation of the *tí-po-ni* occupied about two hours.<sup>2</sup>

When he had finished he called Hoñ'yi, who came and stood by him on the skin at his right, both facing south. Wi-nú-ta then rose and held the *tí-po-ni* in front of himself, the base resting in the palm of his left hand. He prayed very fervently, Hoñ'yi responding, and then gave the *tí-po-ni* to Cí-mo, who held it as Wi-nú-ta had done, and likewise prayed. Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa did the same and passed the *tí-po-ni* into Hoñ'yi's hands, who prayed fervently, and all the others who had sat by the fireplace responded, Hoñ'yi added a handful of meal to the place his *tí-po-ni* formerly occupied, and set his badge in it by the altar. The *pá-ho* were then distributed by

<sup>1</sup> *Wú-pa*, great, long; *pá-ho*, prayer-stick.

<sup>2</sup> For description of the renovation of *tí-po-ni* of the *Lá-la-kon-ti* priestesses, see *American Anthropologist*, July, 1892.

the courier in shrines, the distance to which was less than on previous days.

August 11th (seventh day).—Four *pá-ho*, two annulets, three small sticks and a small wooden cylinder were prepared during the forenoon, but there was no ceremony at the altar. At about noon, Cí-mo, accompanied by eight persons, left Walpi, bearing these objects and a *pá-a-ya* in their hands. The procession went to Sheep Spring (Ka-nel'-pa), where they halted while Cí-mo and Tcu-a-vé-ma placed *pá-ho* in the crevices near the water. All took a drink of water, and set off again up the valley to the spring Wí-po, where they again halted, gathered wood, made a large fire and cooked food. All ate meat and salt for the first time since the Flute ceremony began. After a tarry of three hours at Wí-po, during which *pá-ho* were deposited, all resumed the march. At the main drainage arroyo a *pá-ho* was deposited, and its feathered string stretched towards Walpi. The priests then continued to the west side of the valley and climbed almost to the summit of the mesa, which is there about 300 feet high. They halted about sunset, and camped under a projecting rock, which is called *le-leñ-ti-ki-hu*.<sup>1</sup> Many old sticks in crevices served as pegs, upon which they hung their bundles.

August 12th (eighth day).—Just as the morning star appeared, the priests roused themselves, and proceeded a mile further to the spring called Kwac'-ta-pa-hu, where they filled their gourds with water from the middle of the pool. They sang their songs and played their flutes, pointing them to the four cardinal points in sequence. As a *pá-ho* was placed in the bed of the spring, Les'-ma played on his flute, and Mó-mi,<sup>2</sup> who stood on the bank, sounded the whizzer. Les'-ma lit a pipe, and after the old men had smoked, Cí-mo called for all to bring their prayer-sticks, and every one at the signal immediately opened his bundle and gave him one set of *pá-ho*.

When the priests approached Kwac'-ta-pa-hu, they halted four times, listening for the sound of flowing water. On arrival, they sat on the ledge above the spring and sang until early dawn, and then all, led by Cí-mo, went outside the inclosure of the spring and substituted white ceremonial kilts for their ordinary clothing. They tied their garments in a blanket, which they slung over their shoulders, and covered the bundle with a white mantle. Cí-mo drew with sacred meal the six radiating lines corresponding to the cardinal points, and set his *tí-po-ni* on their junction, near the west side of the little stream which issues from the cave. He placed a small stick about two paces from the *tí-po-ni*, on the trail leading up

<sup>1</sup> House of the Flute ceremonial.

<sup>2</sup> He probably personified *Pü-ü-koñ-ho-ya*, or The Little War God.

out of the spring, and sprinkled meal along the trail for about thirty feet. At equal distances on this line of meal he made four symbols of rain clouds.

Les'-ma took a bit of clay which he found lying there, moistened it with water and spittle, and daubed a broad white mark on each of Cí-mo's shoulders. He also made with the same material three finger-marks on each side of the chest, and on the upper and fore arm, on the thighs, knees, across the shins, and on each cheek. He also rubbed some of the clay in the hair on each side of the face. All sang as this was done, and Les'-ma marked the others, and last of all himself, in the same manner.

All then advanced in a group to the edge of the spring, where the water trickled from the pool. They advanced a pace at a time, and at last halted and sang, Les'-ma playing a flute. Cí-mo in advance, stood on a rain-cloud symbol made in meal. Mó-mi followed about five paces behind the group, sounding the whizzer at proper intervals.

They then rapidly passed across the plain from the spring to the east edge of the mesa, and when they reached this place, Cí-mo set his *tí-po-ni* on the earth, about a hundred feet from the edge of the mesa, and made figures of four rain-cloud symbols in meal on the ground near the spring. The priests began to sing, and accompanied their song with rattles, advancing from one symbol to another, and then continued on their course. Half way between Wí-po and Walpi, Cí-mo halted the crowd of runners and again made the rain-cloud symbols, upon which he placed his *tí-po-ni* and a large *pá-ho*. On the way back to Walpi this was repeated five or six times. Several of the young men foraged in the course of the return to the pueblos, collecting corn-stalks. At the ruin called Tü-kiñ-o-bi they halted again, and Cí-mo made radiating lines of meal upon which he set his *tí-po-ni*. They repeated the songs, and the priests paced from one rain-cloud symbol to another, as in former presentations. At some small mounds near Kannu's new house they stopped again, and there ate breakfast, after which they went on, and halted (in the plain) on the mound fringed with young peach-trees, about opposite a point half way between Sitcomovi and Walpi, where the *tí-po-ni* was again set on the ground, and the ceremony mentioned above repeated. They took the trail which passes near a small burro-pen, and arriving at the summit of the mesa, proceeded towards the narrow part of the mesa, at the entrance to Walpi. An assemblage of people there met them, and just back of a line of meal drawn across the trail stood Wi-nú-ta and Hoñ'-yi, also two boys and a girl.

As Cí-mo passed down into the break at this narrow point, he

began to sprinkle meal upon the rock, and when the returning Flute priests drew quite close to the line of meal, they gave a shout, and broke forth into the same song they had sung at all the previous halts. Wi-nú-ta challenged them four times, and Cí-mo replied. Then Wi-nú-ta and Hoñ'-yi turned to the two girls (*má-na*), who produced from beneath their mantles small *pó-o-ta* (baskets), each containing two ears of corn and a *tí-po-ní*,<sup>1</sup> one belonging to Wi-nú-ta, the Bear chief, the other to Hoñ'-yi, the Snake chief. Each of these men tenderly took his badge, and rested it horizontally on his left arm as Wi-nú-ta advanced to Cí-mo and delivered a long harangue to the purport that if they really were the good people they claimed to be, they could bring rain.

Wi-nú-ta and Hoñ'-yi then led the boy<sup>2</sup> and girls successively up to Cí-mo, who gave to each maid a stick and annulet, and to each lad a stick and cylinder, being careful as he delivered the gift to hold it in his right hand, with point projecting before him. A procession was then formed, in which Cí-mo led, carrying his *tí-po-ní* and *pá-a-ya*, and followed by a line consisting of Wi-nú-ta, with a girl at his right, the boy, another girl, Hoñ'-yi and Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa.

At the neck of the mesa, after the reception, Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa and Ca-li-ko and another woman took the stalks of corn which the Flute priests carried and distributed them so that each one in the procession carried at least a fragment. The rest of the Flute fraternity followed the first line, and all, singing as they went, proceeded along the front of the pueblo. At Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa's house, A-ló-sa-ka (A-mí-to-la) again drew a line of meal across the trail, before which all halted, still singing. He next made four cloud symbols on the ground in meal, just as he did when the standard was carried to the housetop. The groups advanced from symbol to symbol, halting at each to repeat a stanza of their song. At the last A-ló-sa-ka drew the end of his *moñ-ko-hu* along the line of meal, and Wi-nú-ta rubbed off the remainder from the trail with his foot.<sup>3</sup>

While this was in progress several of the women plucked sunflowers from the heads of some of the Flute priests and gave them to their children. The group passed through the covered way, and all entered Cí-mo's house, the ceiling of which Wi-nú-ta and Hoñ'-yi decorated by thrusting the corn-stalks through the line of cross rafters. The sunflowers were collected from the bearers and laid so as to form a continuous line along each side of the pollen

<sup>1</sup> The dress of the two girls has been described in the "Cipaulovi Flute" (*Jour. Amer. Eth. and Arch.*). It is the same as that of the maid in the Snake dramatization.

<sup>2</sup> Boy clothed like the Snake boy in the Snake drama.

<sup>3</sup> That is, "opened the trail."

trail. The girls and boy placed sticks on each side of the pollen trail just in front of the *poñ-ya*, and others deposited long rushes beside it.

On the morning of the eighth day four sets of *pá-ho*, each having the length of the distal joint of the middle finger, were made by Cí-mo, Wi-nú-ta, Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa, and Hoñ'-yi, and these were distributed shortly after noon by the courier (Tü-wa-moñ-wi). The places of deposit were on the four sides of the pueblo, and the courier did not leave the mesa<sup>1</sup> when he placed them in the shrines.

August 13th (ninth day). — About 1 A. M., at a signal from Cí-mo, Sú-pe-la advised by A-mí-to-la arranged four balls<sup>2</sup> of mud in a quadrangle, calling out the name of a cardinal point as he laid each down on an angle. He then placed four others apart from these, calling each of these by the name of some specific locality near the mesa. He then placed the remaining clay balls near one or another of these eight, adding equal quantities of small sticks to each collection of mud balls. Each man at his option laid a prayer-stick in whichever pile he desired. These piles were then put in pouches and carried to the zone of the pollen. They were distributed to the appropriate places at daybreak.

About 2 A. M., at Cí-mo's bidding, the priests took their position around the altar. Les'-ma acted as pipe-lighter, and after all had smoked they prayed and sang, closing this simple ceremony as they began. Cí-mo and A-mí-to-la left the room shortly after the close of the songs and sat outside carefully scanning the stars of Orion.

About 3 A. M. the constellation was in the desirable place, and all the inmates of the chamber took up their *pá-ho* and their rattles from different places along the pollen trail. Cí-mo with his *pá-a-ya* in hand led them all through the Tcüb'-mo court, and they sat down in the main plaza of Walpi at the edge of the cliff and began to sing, accompanied by flutes. Wi-nú-ta and Kó-pe-li constructed over the *sí-pa-pu* a cottonwood bower (*kí-si*) similar to that used in the Snake ceremonial. As soon as this was completed Wi-nú-ta raised the flat stone in the ground in front of it and revealed a chamber ten inches deep. When they had dug down into this cavity with a planting-stick,<sup>3</sup> the song ceased, and Wi-nú-ta entered the *kí-si*, while all the others passed up to the front of the same, and handed him their *pá-ho*. A-mí-to-la passed the *ná-kwi-pi* to Wi-nú-ta, who poured the

<sup>1</sup> In exactly the same places where the Antelope "sand chief," Ka-kap-ti deposited the offerings of the Antelopes.

<sup>2</sup> Similar clay balls and small wooden twigs called "frog young" are mentioned in my account of the Cipaulovi Flute and the Walpi Snake ceremonials. (*Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vols. ii. and iv.)

<sup>3</sup> At Cipaulovi there was a race up the mesa at daybreak of the ninth day.

liquid it contained into the cavity just exposed. Shortly after, or at about dawn, all went back to the ceremonial chamber and lay down to sleep. Wi-nú-ta remained at the *kí-si*,<sup>1</sup> after all the *pá-ho* had been deposited, and closed the chamber with a large white blanket, fastening its lower edge with stones.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, the priests painted their cheeks, legs, and arms with white lines. They made cloud emblems of the same color on each shoulder and parallel straight lines on the breast and back. Two white bands were drawn above the knees and curved white lines were made under the right eye and left jaw. All wore many shell necklaces, and one person donned the horned A-ló-sa-ka helmet and took his *wú-pa-pa-ho*.

The two girls (*má-na*) and the boy were clothed as yesterday,<sup>2</sup> and a small boy was dressed as an A-ló-sa-ka. The chiefs then approached the altar, and each took his own *tí-po-ni* from it.<sup>3</sup>

Cí-mo took from the altar the gourd of water, a stick with annulet and a few bullrushes, and Hoñ'-yi the remaining gourd and the cylinder with its stick. They formed a procession made up of the following members in order: A-ló-sa-ka, Snake girl, Snake boy, Snake girl, Cí-mo, Hoñ'-yi, Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa, Kwá-tca-kwa, Tcu-a-vé-ma, Sú-pe-la, and seven others. Mó-mi (warrior) followed in the rear with a bow and arrows and a whizzer. All but him had on the shoulder a white blanket in which was carried a single *pá-ho*. The procession passed around the pueblo, down the south trail to Ta-wá-pa (sun spring).

When the above-mentioned persons arrived there, they sat at the north side, and Cí-mo made with meal two sets of radiating lines, upon one of which he placed his *tí-po-ni*, and on the other Hoñ'-yi's. Several *pá-ho* were laid northwest and southwest of the same, after which all smoked. Si-ky-aus'-ti-wa (his *tí-po-ni* was on the mesa) passed to the northwest side of the pool, and the rest sang while Les'-ma played the flute. Presently he waded<sup>4</sup> into the centre of the pool, and, motioning to the four cardinal points, completely

<sup>1</sup> Wi-nú-ta said he personified the holder of the Bear *tí-po-ni*, and that this is a sacred place of the Bear people. "We celebrate this festival," he said, "for rain, but also we remind *Má-sau-wuh* that the Bear chief overthrew him, and won this land (see Snake legend), and the *pá-ho* are used to communicate this fact. He will thus be prevented from entering the village another year. The Snakes do the same on alternate years, but the Snake chief only helped overthrow *Má-sau-wuh*; the Bear chief did the act."

<sup>2</sup> See description of the dress of these in *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. ii. No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wi-nú-ta did not decorate himself and did not leave the chamber; his *tí-po-ni*, wrapped in dry grass, hung on a peg in the house.

<sup>4</sup> As described in the Cipalovi Flute.

disappeared under the water and planted the *pá-ho* in the bed of the spring. As he rose, he brought a handful of mud and came out of the water on the northwest side, and then went around to the group of fellow-priests. He took a flute (*pa-leñ'-a*) and again passed to the northwest and then into the middle of the pool, and after holding the flute towards the setting sun, blew into the water, causing it to bubble. This he repeated to each of the cardinal points, and then came out as before, and going to the group, smeared the cylinder and annulet (which had been whitened before leaving the chamber) with the mud he had brought up from the bed of the pool. All this time the song continued, with Les'-ma playing on the flute and some (all ?) of the others sounding the *mo-sí-li-li* (shell) and gourd rattles.

The courier and two other priests rushed off to the fields and brought corn-stalks and sunflowers. All decorated their heads with three sunflowers each, and carried two corn-stalks in their hands. Cí-mo gave the sticks (*wú-pa-pa-ho*) back to the girls and boy after both he and Hoñ'-yi had prayed upon them. Sú-pe-la took up the *ná-kwi-pi* and Cí-mo and Hoñ'-yi their *tí-po-ni*, and a procession was formed to ascend the mesa. Two lines were arranged abreast, following the arrangement already described in the Cipaulovi Flute. Four cloud symbols were made in meal on the ground and the lines of priests advanced from one to the other, the girls and boy throwing annulets or cylinders<sup>1</sup> on the rain-cloud symbols as described in the account of the Cipaulovi Flute.

It is not necessary for me to describe the march of the Flute Society from Ta-wá-pa to the *kí-si* on the mesa, since I have already given a detailed account of the same at Cipaulovi. It must be remembered, however, that there is but one house in the Walpi celebration, and that there is no A-ló-sa-ka at Cipaulovi. The casting of the annulets and cylinders<sup>2</sup> into the figures of the rain clouds drawn in sacred meal on the ground is the same in both pueblos, and the accompanying events at the *kí-si* are identical. At their conclusion the altar slabs were tied up in corn husks and suspended from the roof of the Flute chief's home. No purification ceremonials were observed. The following explanation of the historical drama was given by Cí-mo.

<sup>1</sup> The failure to see a race up the mesa does not prove that this prominent ture of both the Snake Dance and Flute Ceremony was omitted. The attention of future students is called to the secret parts of the Cipaulovi Flute observance which eluded me during my studies in 1891. It is also desirable to record the Flute observance in Micoñinovi and Oraibi. The ceremony in the former pueblo will occur in 1896; in the latter, next summer, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> These annulets and cylinders are identical with those placed on the heads of the male and female lightnings of the Antelope sand picture in the Snake Dance. (See *Four. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* vol. iv.)

In early times the Bear people and the Snake people lived alone in Walpi, and in their migration from the north the Horn or Flute people came that way and halted at the spring called Kwac'-ta-pa. They lived there a considerable time, but were anxious to know whether other men lived in their neighborhood. They sent forth Mountain Sheep to spy out the country, and he reported that he had seen traces of other peoples. Accordingly, early one morning we set forth, accompanied by our families. We had at that time neither horses nor burros, but we carried all our possessions on our backs.

The watchman of Walpi was A-ló-sa-ka, who always sat on the housetop. He spied us in the distance and announced to his people that we were coming. Many came out to see us, but remained on the mesa while we were in the plain. As we advanced we halted at intervals and sang, just as we did on the morning of the eighth day.

As we approached the entrance to the village all the people had gathered together, and they drew a line of meal across the trail,<sup>1</sup> demanding where we were going and what we desired. Our chief said: "We are of your blood, Hopi. Our hearts are good and our speech straight. We carry on our backs the tabernacle of the Flute altar. We can cause rain to fall." Four times they challenged us as we stood before the line of meal outside the town, and as many times we gave the same reply. After the fourth response A-ló-sa-ka and the chiefs erased the meal from the trail and we passed into the pueblo, where we erected our altar, sang our songs, and brought the welcome rain. Then the Bear and Snake chiefs said, "Surely your chief shall be one of our chiefs," and hence by right of descent in succession, said Cí-mo, "I am chief to-day."<sup>2</sup>

*J. Walter Fewkes.*

<sup>1</sup> This method of "closing" the trail is mentioned by Spanish writers. See, also, my account of the *Na'-ac-nai-ya*.

<sup>2</sup> The Flute observance occurs on alternate years with the Snake ceremonials.



## EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

### PLATE I.

Fig. 1. Figurine of a male personage from the Flute altar.

Fig. 2. Figurine of a female personage from the Flute altar.

### PLATE II.

Fig. 1. Stone tile from the Flute altar.

Fig. 2. Stone tile from the Flute altar.

It will probably be found that these represent female and male Flute personages.

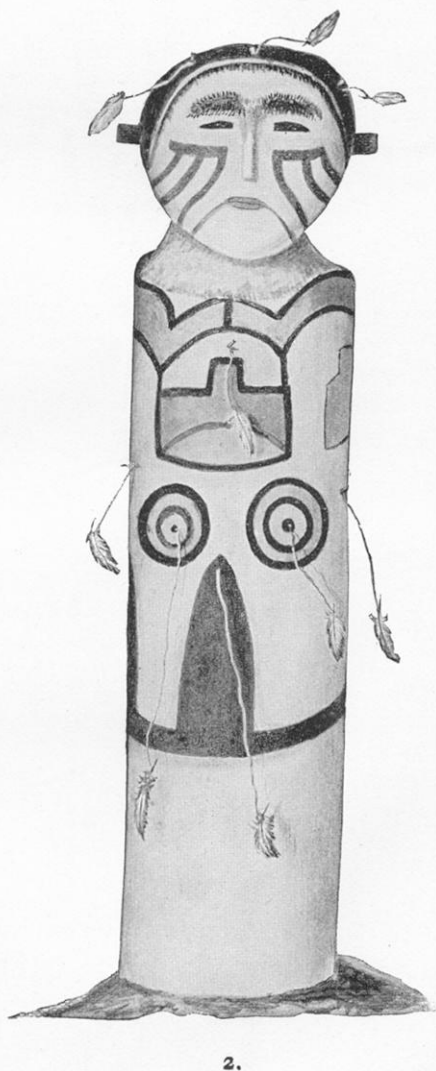
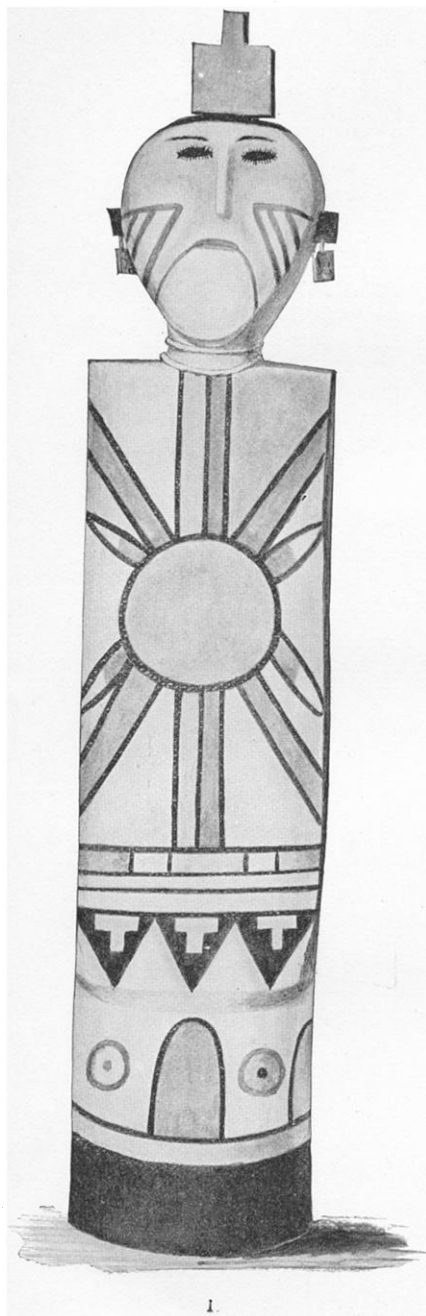
Fig. 3. *Pá-a-ya* (moisture rattle).

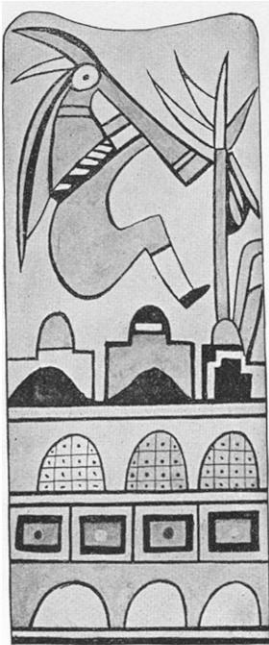
Fig. 4. *Ná-tai* tied to a section of a ladder.

This is in reality a *pá-ho* or prayer-sticks, with lightning symbols on the two components ; one of which is male, the other, female.

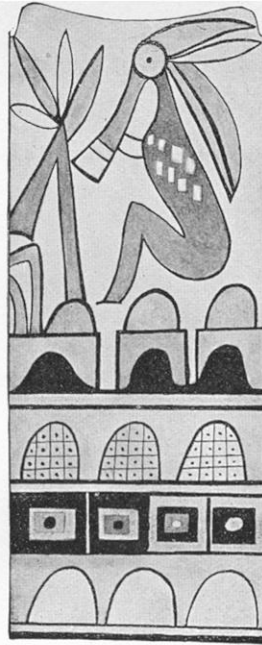
The originals of these drawings were made by the late A. M. Stephen, copied for the half-tone reproductions by Mr. J. H. Blake.

Figures 1 and 2 were made from objects which were held in such veneration by the priests, that when they saw the drawings they sprinkled sacred meal upon them and murmured a short prayer.

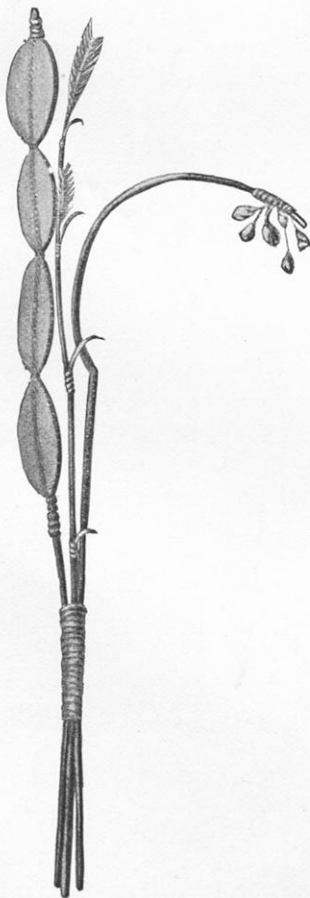




1.



2.



3.



4.